

# the bullet

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mary washington college

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## Students denied local vote; Federal court to rule

by Robin Darling

Fredericksburg's city registrar Elizabeth Parcell exercised last Wednesday the authority given her by the State Board of Elections when she refused to allow two dormitory students to register for next month's local and state election. At that time, four Mary Washington College students attempted to register; two were accepted and assigned to local precincts. These two were day students, maintaining a city address independent of their parents; both were previously unregistered state residents from other cities, living indefinitely in Fredericksburg. Parcell accepted their applications with one admonition: "You know, you girls really should register at home where your parents live."

At that time, an in-state dormitory student was allowed to register; however, on Thursday she received a letter from Parcell informing her of the removal of her name from voter registration records. It stated, "Residence for all purposes of qualification to vote, requires both domicile and place of abode. NO STUDENT in any institution of learning shall be regarded as having either gained or lost a residence, as to the right of suffrage, by reason of his location as such institution."

On Thursday, this student received a letter identical to the letter received by the Virginia resident. In addition it emphasized her non-residency as a factor in Parcell's decision.

In a decision at the end of July, Virginia Attorney General issued an opinion which allowed local registrars to decide whether or not students from another area or state may vote in their college towns. Such a student, he stated at that time, must convince the registrar of the city in which she or he intends to vote that the residence requirements have been met and, instead of leaving the locality after graduation, that she or he will remain for an indefinite period.

"In all cases," said Miller, "the registrar should consider each individual student on the merits of his particular case . . . a student obtains no residency merely because he is enrolled, but being a student does not preclude, necessarily, his becoming a resident."

Parcell advised the out-of-state student to "go home this summer to wherever it is that your parents vote and register there . . . I simply don't think your interests lie here." Although she allowed the student to take the required registration oath and formally register with an assigned precinct, she later informed the student that she would not be allowed to vote, as in the case of any other out-of-state students who attempted to register. "Simply because you're a student does not establish you as a resident in the state," she said. Asked about the legality of refusing an eligible voter the right to register in the locality of her choice, Parcell said "I merely go by the laws established in the State of Virginia."

Similar conditions exist in other states. In Clemson South Carolina, students have had difficulty registering for upcoming elections. For most voters in Pickens County, local officials accept a social security card as "sufficient proof" that residency requirements have been met. However, Clemson University students claim that registration is more difficult for them; the registration board may require a draft card and automobile registration or proof of address, employment, and residence. Xerox copies of college forms, proof of apartment or house rental, past tax records, military record, and insurance records may all be requested.

An applicant may still be denied registration on the basis of a clause in the state constitution, which states that eligibility can be determined by "present intent of permanent residence." According to Clemson U.'s voter registration chairwoman Gay Edwards, mill or plant executives in the

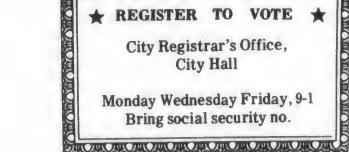
county may register with no trouble, even though they will probably be transferred to another plant for a few years. However, a self-supporting student, single or married, who has been living year-round in Pickens County and is planning to continue to do so for the remainder of his college career can be refused registration because she or he is considered by registration officials to be an "out-of-state" student living in South Carolina.

The same student may be denied registration at home if she or he comes from a state which requires applicants to maintain a home mailing address and local residency.

Such restrictions have been contested in other states. In California, a unanimous decision by state Supreme Court decided that the registration policy was an abridgement of the voting rights of 18-20 year olds as set forth in the 26th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The Court said:

"Compelling young people who live apart from their parents to travel to their parents' district to register and vote or else to register and vote as absentee burdens their right to vote . . . Such young people would be isolated from local political activity, with a concomitant reduction in their political influence and information."

Fifteen other states are now allowing students to vote where they attend school.



After the American Civil Liberties Union filed four federal lawsuits in Massachusetts, the state's attorney general ruled that persons under 21 may choose their own voting residences. The nature of the residence—private home or college dormitory—is irrelevant, the attorney general said. Any interference with young people's voting rights "would violate their fundamental constitutional guarantee to exercise their voting franchise."

In Virginia and locally, the ACLU is sponsoring a voting drive to test the legality of state and local officials' actions in not allowing 18-20 year old students to vote in the locality of their choice. Any MWC student who is eligible to vote under the 26th Amendment and who has been denied registration in Fredericksburg is requested to contact the campus ACLU.

At a hearing in Richmond last Friday morning, however, Federal District court Judge Merhige ruled that Virginia registration books be kept open for a week past the October 2 deadline for the registration of student voters.

A separate three judge federal court will rule on the whole issue of whether residential students will be allowed to vote in the locality of their colleges.

## Youth barred from right to nominate

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Since the adoption of the 26th Amendment, reporters have been predicting that the future of American politics could be largely determined by the 25 million young people who will be eligible to cast their first ballot in 1972. But the young voters' road to the polling booth is not unencumbered, and their political power cannot be taken for granted.

One serious threat to the youth vote is posed by the election laws of Michigan and North Dakota. In these two states, young people will be able to vote for one of the candidates for President in the 1972 election. However, they will not be able to participate in the nomination of those candidates.

For young people, voting for President in 1972 could prove virtually meaningless unless they have a choice in the nominating process as well. The struggle for the Democratic nomination at the July convention will be the likely focus of youth interest—and it is here that their influence could be vital.

In 1968 young people were credited with making an important difference in the nominating process of the Democratic Party. One presidential campaign even became known as the "Children's Crusade." Nevertheless, the influence of youth was limited. They could ring doorbells, stuff envelopes, write speeches and make posters. But real power—the vote—was generally beyond their reach.

With few exceptions, young people were not given the opportunity of serving as voting to the Democratic National Convention or of helping to select the delegates. Sixteen state delegations at the convention had no voting members under 30 years of age, and another 13 had only one delegate from this age group. (The Republicans have an even more dismal record. Only 1 per cent of the delegates at the 1968 GOP Convention were under 30, while 83 per cent were 40 years of age or older. In 42 states, there were no voting delegates under 30.)

The National Democratic Party has tried to rectify this past discrimination by requiring all state parties to actively encourage the participation of young people in all party affairs and to include 18-30 year olds in the National Convention delegation in "reasonable relationship" to their presence in the state population.

However, despite party reforms and despite the

26th Amendment, young people in Michigan and North Dakota will face severe restrictions on their right to participate in the nomination of a presidential candidate in 1972. Under the election laws of both states, National Convention delegates are chosen at state party conventions. State convention delegates are chosen at county conventions. And county delegates are chosen at a party primary. This primary election represents the only opportunity nominating process—and it has already been held. In both states, the election occurred in late summer of 1970.

As a result, large numbers of Michigan and North Dakota voters will be prevented from taking part in the selection of their party's presidential nominee. These voters include (1) 18-20 year olds who are newly enfranchised by the 26th Amendment, (2) 21-23 year olds who were ineligible to vote in the 1970 primary, and (3) new residents who have moved into the state since 1970. In Michigan alone, the young people who are thus disenfranchised number over 1,000,000.

Bills have been introduced in the Michigan and North Dakota legislatures that call for a new primary in 1972. The North Dakota legislature adjourned without taking action, and Michigan politicians predict that reform bill has little chance of passing their state's legislature. Consequently, court action is the only remaining alternative.

The Center for Political Reform has prepared lawsuits to be brought in each state by young voters and new residents who are based on the 26th Amendment, the right to travel, the right of political association, the Equal Protection Clause, and the 1970 Voting Rights Act. The courts will be asked to enjoin present delegation selection procedures and to require each state to hold a new primary election.

If these court actions are successful, another barricade in the path of young people's voting rights will have been knocked down. If they fail, the youth of Michigan and North Dakota will have good reason to question the legitimacy of the electoral process. It's a shrewd trick to tell someone that he can now vote for President—but that he can have no say in who the candidates are. As Boss Tweed used to put it, "I don't care who does the electing, just so long as I do the nominating."

# Minority women face job shortage

by Jeanne Rabe

The Southeastern Coalition of Woman Students came together for the first time on September 24 at the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor in Washington. Approximately 170 students from representative campuses in 11 states and the District of Columbia gathered to hear speakers and to discuss the women's movement at the weekend conference sponsored by the Bureau.

Elizabeth D. Koontz, Director of the Women's Bureau, announced at the outset of the meeting that the coalition was the "first pilot attempt to establish communication with a group of women" from varying geographical areas. She also commented that "this would not be just another organization."

The Women's Bureau was founded 50 years ago to explore and improve work standards for women. Since then, it has expanded to investigate women's status from a legal standpoint and it endeavors to disseminate its information to all women.

The coalition was an outgrowth of a Bureau planning commission, instituted in Atlanta last year and is headed by Caron Balkany, youth activities coordinator for the Bureau. The purpose of the coalition of students is to insert activism on the campus level, informing women and men on the campuses of the existing employment standards.

At the meeting, coalition members also indicated concern about voter registration for women and minority students, abortion and contraception information centers on campus, educational equality for women, and other projects aimed at improving the status of young women. Efforts at coordinating campus activities were discussed at length by members of the Women's Bureau.

According to Koontz, the matter of sex discrimination is not just a question for debate, but rather is a fact. She stated, "There's no question. It's there."

To combat this situation, the Women's Bureau has joined the larger women's movement, pressing for reform in many areas, especially in the area of equal employment opportunities. But it is the feeling of the Bureau, that the movement in general can only be effective if it has a factual base.

This year the Bureau has concentrated its efforts on minority groups, including college students as well as other minority divisions.

Koontz emphasized that women of minority races face the situation of double discrimination, since prejudice is aimed at both women and at minority races. (Minority races include all races other than white. Negroes constitute about 92 per cent of all persons other than white in the U.S.) Black representatives, who comprised about one-third of the coalition meeting, re-emphasized this point.

According to Labor Department statistics, recent efforts to improve the social and economic status of workers of minority races have led to better jobs with higher earnings for many minority women.

Between 1960 and 1970, the proportion of all minority women workers employed in professional and technical jobs rose from 6 to 11 per cent and the proportion in clerical jobs from 9 to 21 per cent. Over the same 10 year period, the proportion in private household work decreased from 35 to 18 per cent.

The median wage or salary of women of minority races employed full time year round rose from \$2,372 in 1960 to \$4,231 in 1969. This was an increase of 44 per cent. (The median wage of salary income for all women as of 1969, including earnings of self-employed persons, was \$4,977 and for men \$8,227.)

Minority women are more likely to be in the labor force than other groups, as working wives and working mother. Minority women workers generally have less formal education, higher rates of unemployment and lower incomes than their white counterparts. They also tend to have a greater number of low-skilled, low-wage occupations. In comparison with minority men, they experience greater rates of unemployment and, on the average, have lower earnings.

Unemployment among minority women increased sharply from 1969 to 1970. For all those 16 and over the figure rose from 7.8 percent to 9.3 percent. Teenage minority girls experienced particularly severe unemployment in 1970; up from 27.7 per cent in 1969 to 34.4 per cent in 1970, this rate was 2½ times greater than that of white girls of the same age group and approximately 1½ times that of minority teenage boys.

Minority women in March 1970 headed 1 out of every 4 families as contrasted with less than 1 out of 10 among white families. Additionally, minority

families headed by women were more than twice as likely to be poor (53 percent) as white females in the same situation (25 percent).

Almost three-fifths of both minority and white female family heads had worked in 1969. The incidence of poverty among families headed by minority women who worked year around full time was six times greater than for white families.

Although both women and men of minority races are narrowing the education gap between themselves and their white counterparts, the figures show a distinct difference of educational status for minority women.

Most minority women workers are high school graduates. In March 1970, 53 percent had graduated from high school, including 8 percent who had completed 4 or more years of college. The comparative figures for white women were 72 and 11 per cent. The median 12.1 years of schooling for minority women workers in 1970 was nearly three years higher than the median in 1969.

While high unemployment rates and low wages remain "bitter reminders" of their economic

condition, minority women as a group are still susceptible to economic changes despite improvements during recent years in their educational attainment and occupational status. In addition, the total incomes of minority women and the economic plight of women workers who head their families demonstrate the need for increased stress on the provision of equal employment and vocational training opportunity for minority women and aid to the working poor.

These figures, supplied by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, further define the problem that minority women face today—double discrimination.

Elizabeth Koontz emphasized that, "Things just don't happen. People make them happen." The Women's Bureau, under her direction, leans towards action and it is their hope, as well as the mandate of the student Coalition members, that the status of women, particularly minority women, be changed.

## SIS sponsors second program

Students and professionals met last Tuesday night to discuss problems of abortion and contraception. The meeting, sponsored by Students for Social Information Services, involved Charles Howard, executive director of Virginia League of Planned Parenthood; Cathy Nadeau, psychological consultant for Fredericksburg Mental Hygiene Clinic; and Michael Miller, psychologist, as well as 250 students.

Howard explained the history and practice of birth control by women from the time camel and elephant dung, beeswax, and saliva were used as contraceptives, to the more aware modern woman who makes use of saran wrap, cigarettes, feminine hygiene products, withdrawal, and "I am sterile."

He surveyed different methods of contraception and their respective effectiveness, concentrating on the area of birth control pills. The pill, he explained, which is 99 per cent safe, is more difficult to purchase than marijuana, despite the fact that they are available, under law, to any woman, despite her age, without parental consent. Howard commented that 90 out of 100 women can take the pill without serious side effects, but explained the necessity of individual medical examinations.

He stressed the fact that there are not enough physicians to administer birth control methods and the need to create safe, "self-induced methods" of contraception.

He also commented on the restrictions prohibiting publicity of birth control and abortion information. He stated, "They can put on T.V. ads for feminine hygiene products with women that say 'Oh, I smell so good.' But they won't let us sell something that smells good and prevents pregnancy."

In Richmond, Howard said, a legal abortion is "difficult; almost impossible" to obtain. According to Howard, Medical College of Virginia turns away 50-60 applicants per week, with more than 50 per cent qualifying as medically indigent.

Commenting on the ease of obtaining abortions in Washington, D.C., he said, "In Washington, an abortion is between the physician and the banker."

Howard is involved with the Fan District Free Clinic in Richmond, located at 1721 Hanover St., which concerns drugs, birth control, venereal disease, and abortion counselling.

Cathy Nadeau discussed the psychological impact of abortion. She commented that most women are guilt-ridden despite the fact that they are exercising their personal and legal rights. "Feelings become exaggerated," she explained, "when there is no opportunity to talk with someone with similar experiences."

Although she predicts that side effects will decrease as acceptance of abortion increases, she proposes "to bring the issue into the light, take a long hard look at it, rather than to speak of it with an air of clandestinity."

Miller stated that it is "imperative that an institution of 2200 women provide a center for contraception and abortion information." He commented that to be "indifferent to these needs is frankly immoral. A forced delay is detrimental to health and dangerous to life."

"We know the methods, we have the means," he said, "let's get on with it."

Miller also organized two psychodramas in which students acted out roles in situations suggested by the audience.

## MWC to house male guests

by Marianne Schwartz

Chancellor Grellet S. Simpson announced at the first Senate meeting last Wednesday night that Mary Washington College will provide an area for men who wish to spend the weekend here.

Recognizing, he said, an informality and casualness peculiar to today's youth, along with the higher cost of things, Simpson stated that he had decided Wednesday morning to approve the rooming project. The A. C. L. swimming pool will be covered with a wooden floor; showers and bathroom facilities will be added. Architects have been called in to plan the work, which is estimated to be completed in not more than two months. Simpson emphasized that the project is a result of close work with the administrations of last year's and this year's student government.

The announcement, he said, reflected the theme of his welcome speech to the new senators: "The College is a structured organization, but it is not structure so much that decisions can not be examined." Urging the senators to operate as individuals in a deliberating body which was devoted to the interests of the whole college, he explained that that meant including "the other side's opinion" in Senate action. He heartily welcomed, he said, a sharing between student government and himself and his staff.

Simpson also urged the senators to work at becoming a "truly deliberating body" which would deal with issues realistically, basing decisions on sound information and representation. Simpson indicated that he depended upon the Senate to inform him of student opinion, in the same way that he depended upon the Faculty Committee for insight into educational issues.

Simpson voiced his regret that he often depends upon a small group of student officials who may often be misinformed about student concerns. "Take advantage of the opportunity that I'm offering you on behalf of the college staff," he said. "I'm sure more can be done more quickly if we open up dialogue."

After the Chancellor's welcome speech, the Senate introduced new business. Student Association Executive Chairman Ann Welsh informed the Senate that a group of officials would be observing the College from November 14-17; she asked senators to notify their constituents of the observers who will be visiting the dining hall, the C-Shoppe, various classes, and talking randomly to students.

Welsh also explained an additional function of the SA Finance Committee, which will become responsible this year for all allocations of the student activities fees. The committee will consist of three senators, three non-senators, the Executive Chairman Ann Welsh, the Legislative Chairman Debbie Mulcahey, the Secretary-Treasurer, Pam Maynard, Comptroller Edward Allison, and a faculty member who will be chosen by the Chancellor.

Non-senator candidates up for election included Nancy Ruebush, Susan Tyler, Patricia Denton, Mary Cinalli, Carter Moffit, Frances Hickson, and Dorothy Fry. All other students who are interested in running for the committee are asked to contact Debbie Mulcahey or Ann Welsh.

# FORUM

## feedback

### Student asks for happy medium

To the Editor:

The removal of prayers and God's name from public speeches and ceremonies has annoyed me and several of my friends. Nevertheless, the following: the content of speeches and public addresses should be left up to the discretion of the individual speakers by right of freedom of speech. Prayers and God's name, very often, are only a few of the many words and phrases uttered for the sake of "public appearance." If one suggests eliminating prayers and the like, why not remove the rest of the meaningless and ostentatious words? Why not then, also remove those ideas with which some of larger members of people will disagree? As there will most likely be someone to dispute or disagree with any idea that may be presented, then it follows that all these things should be removed, as well. Perhaps, then the happier medium in the content of ceremonies, speeches, etc. will be reached—Absolutely Nothing...

Chris Kostek

### 'Miss Attica' editorial questioned

To the Editor:

"Miss Attica"—Severely prompted by your painful column—I submit:

The insistence of small college newspapers, their editors, to mastermind social revolution is worth pondering and/or vomiting over. Like too many before you, and I dread, many more to come, you have committed tragic error.

## Newspaper policy defined

The above letter, critical of the policy of this newspaper, included a request for response from the editors. Although a statement of BULLET policy is included regularly in the masthead, we find that we must occasionally re-clarify it.

First, the "column" to which Mr. Flynn referred (September 27) was a signed editorial. As such, it represented an individual opinion, open to criticism from those who hold different opinions. The BULLET welcomes this criticism.

However, we contest the assertion that accepted journalistic practice holds newspapers only to "inform or entertain." Neither must a paper be required to act as a mouthpiece for any group; we do not purport "to speak for blacks, students, etc." Like any newspaper, supported by its readers and its advertisers, we determine our own content independently of the people for whom we publish.

The question of any newspaper's effectiveness is a different matter entirely. It is indeed arguable that none of the media effect social change; it has been said that they do not affect even the whims of a people.

"More and more formerly isolated minority groups are now coming together as oppressed people. Poor people, women, blacks, veterans, prisoners, students, etc. are realizing a common ground. They hate their lives."

This devious assumption must be challenged. You sound as if you are the new chairwoman for THE COALITION. I know personally and publicly of Blacks, Poor People, Veterans, ex-Prisoners and students who do, in fact, not hate their lives. You continue to sound as if you possess some covert authority and you present yourself as at the center of some massive communications network.

My anger doesn't subside, rather, it intensifies. Your column represented too many errors of accepted journalistic practice. You have neither entertained nor informed. Your opinion stands in need of constant correction. In addition, your haphazard use of glittering generalities has blinded my reading eyesight.

Social progress is fought for daily around big-city editors' desks across this nation. The massive media set-up lends itself well to this bombardment of words which are intended to spotlight current socio-political events. If this is also your hobby, my objection can scarcely prevent you from partaking. However, I must extend this thought.

Battles of words end with silence, as do battles with guns. Wars tend to start with words and resort to guns. I have heard of this pending revolution. Each year the words are changed to fit the current trends. I challenge your qualifications to speak for blacks, students, etc. If there is to be revolt—LET IT BE!

But to continue discussing it is mere children's folly, and in ten years your hoped-for comrades will be 30 and settled.

Jack Flynn  
Student

P.S. Saul Alinsky said that a liberal is a person who leaves a room when yelling turns to hitting. I ask—will you stay in the room—how many others do you think will?—a GUESSTIMATE!

## editorial

## Local franchise

The City Registrar of Fredericksburg, in her refusal to allow two dormitory students, one an in-state student and one from another state, to register for next month's election, effectively disenfranchised them both.

Last July, the ratification of the 26th Amendment insured that 18-year-olds would be eligible to vote at the state and local polls, as well as in national elections. No provisions were made, however, to guarantee that these voters, many of whom are living on the campus of a college or university, would be allowed to designate the locality in which they wished to establish residence.

In certain areas, where a town may contain several colleges, students are a threat to local governments. City officials, fearing the takeover of their small towns by a body of students which may outnumber the body of townspeople, have consistently moved against any attempts of students to register.

We maintain that the threat is aimed at a different place. Most students are not interested in the machinations of city governments, and the laying of sewer pipes and building of parking lots will likely remain the business of city managers. However, students can be as interested in local issues as any businessman, and the denial of their right to affect these issues amounts to outright discouragement of voter participation.

Student voters are absent from their parents' homes for nine months of the year. In the case of the out-of-state student whose name was removed from the registration lists, there was no opportunity to register in another state. Her parents had recently moved from one state to another; she had not established voting residency in either state, and was familiar with the political situation in neither area. An absentee ballot affecting the elections of either state would have been unwise and unjust.

Thursday's opinion of Virginia Attorney General Andrew Miller, along with Friday's court ruling in Richmond, clearly restated the intention of the amended U.S. Constitution: voters, whether they are 18 or 21, are as capable of determining their own residency as they are of choosing their own candidate.

## the bullet

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Signed letters to the editor are invited from all readers.

The BULLET will print all letters within the limits of space and subject to the laws of libel.

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The BULLET reserves the right to edit all contributions for grammatical and technical errors.

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The Editors

# The New American

The following document was prepared by the New American Movement, and avowedly non-political organization which "hopes to reach the huge numbers of people which radical, youth-orientated efforts of the sixties bypassed or rejected."

In addition, the NAM claims that its statement should be to this decade what the SDS's Port Huron Statement was to the last—"to address the crushing problem of the 70's and to speak to the ills of the movement which the Port Huron Statement set in motion.

The NAM further sees itself as an interim means to facilitate and consolidate a mass trend to the left. This analysis, drafted during the summer, is undergoing more revision at this time. The final draft will be presented in November to a national NAM conference.

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As far as the eye can see . . . desks. Women sitting behind them, backs straight and stiff, transferring from one sheet to another something someone else has written, and someone else will receive, but no one really needs.

Men and women on an assembly line . . . putting together a product that will fall apart, will blow up, will cost many times more than it is worth; men and women with no say in the building of the product, or where it will go.

In the factory and the field, in classrooms and coalmines, in hospital and home . . . Americans toil. For what? For the next meal, the next paycheck, the next promise, for the shoddy goods and polluted air, for their children who will rebel at the prospect of being part of this meaningless and empty life? For the profit of the few, the many give their lives in this dull routine. Many people anxiously watching the clock at work, only to be so exhausted during their leisure, that TV becomes the only way to pass the time.

America is soaked with alienation; with people who can't afford to be sick and can't find a way to be healthy; with poverty and hunger, drudgery and boredom; with veterans returning from an immoral war who can't find jobs; with racism; with heroin; with despair.

That despair is not just the despair of the poor and those who toil endlessly. That despair extends to those whose basic material needs have been met as well. The vast majority of people are prevented from realizing their human potentials in freedom and creativity. The technology and wealth that could be used to liberate us from toil and allow us to meet everyone's basic human needs is used, instead, to enslave us to a life of drudgery. Nothing is more clear in America today than the huge distance between the actuality of America in the 70's and its potential. And nothing is more frustrating than the endless line of politicians and opportunists, some of whom recognize the existence of a problem, but none of whom dare offer any real alternative.

## ALIENATION AND LACK OF FULFILLMENT

One of the main ways in which people are kept in line in America is through the prevalence of false ideas that the system inculcates in the people to keep us passive. We are taught that we are incapable of running things for ourselves; that we cannot trust our own intelligence or our own feelings. The ideas that whites are better than blacks, that men are better than women, that Americans are better than foreigners, all divide working people among themselves and make us accomplices in the exploitation of others. We are taught that competition and mutual exploitation are indelible parts of 'human nature.' We feel an unhappiness and alienation and lack of fulfillment both in our work and in the general tenor of our lives. Yet we are made to believe that this is our own personal problem and not at all attributable to aspects of a social order that could be arranged differently. We want to change all of these ideas, and to show the majority of the American public that a just and fulfilling social order is possible if we will struggle for it. And we are intent upon recapturing the revolutionary spirit that was such a basic element in the American self-identity in the past, though always stunted and misdirected by the capitalist system of which it was a part.

## BUILDING PEOPLE'S COUNCILS

Whenever possible, we will seek to build institutions that formalize a transfer of power from the rulers to the people. But since this will often be met with extreme resistance, we will build temporary institutions as well that prepare people to make the decisions that effect their lives and from which we can

launch struggles against the established order. These institutions we shall call 'people's councils,' and we shall build them both at the places where people work and in the community at large.

A people's council at work will develop plans for how the factory or office should be run, what it should be producing, and how. A people's council around a school or hospital or police department or housing authority or transit authority would develop plans about how these institutions should be run. And each will struggle to switch power from its current locus to the councils themselves, or to otherwise institutionalize real power over decisions in the hands of the people. Not every struggle, however, will be a struggle for institutionalizing new power arrangements. For instance, if the people succeed in forcing the rulers to end the war in Vietnam and to stop financing future military adventures to support the American economic empire, that would be an important success even if it did not institutionalize some mechanism for popular control over foreign policy. OUR PROGRAMS WILL BE ADOPTED IN ACCORD WITH ONE SIMPLE CRITERION: WE ASK OURSELVES WHAT CHANGES ARE NECESSARY IN THE AMERICAN SOCIAL SYSTEM TO ALLOW PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY AND AROUND THE WORLD TO ACHIEVE FOR THEMSELVES A LIFE OF DIGNITY, SELF-REALIZATION, SELF-DETERMINATION, AND ADEQUATE MATERIAL GOODS. We must realize that America is not one homogenous society: what people need depends a great deal on their economic class and their sex, and race.

## PASSING THROUGH AFFLUENCE

There are large numbers of young people who have 'passed through affluence' and find the quality of life in America profoundly alienating. Programs designed for their needs will concentrate on maximizing their possibilities for self creation and for nonalienating social relations. While these needs will be shared by all other sectors of American society as well, the forms that these needs will seek expression in is likely to be different.

For many working people, especially those who have received higher levels of education and training, the work situation is totally frustrating: their intelligence and creative talents are stunted in the interests of profits and a mystique of efficiency and professionalism and respect for authority. What they get in compensation for a life full of meaningless labor is a bit of money, which is quickly taken away from them through a tax structure which benefits the wealthy through a series of expenses for transportation, housing, medical care, and vital social services which have increased in cost as they have become more necessary; and through a desperate desire to escape the frustration of a seemingly meaningless existence in the frenzied consumption of goods. Increasingly, they are exposed to food and air that are poisoned, and to an environment made ugly and drained of its natural resources by the capitalists' endless search for profits.

Then there are those who live on the margins of society, the over twelve million Americans on the verge of physical starvation; the tens of millions who are hungry; those who live in squalor and physical misery; the aged who have been used and then tossed aside—all of whom need a higher level of material well-being, ways to get meaningful labor, health care, housing, etc.

Although women and blacks are specially exploited economically, they are also exploited as women and blacks regardless of their economic position, so that they have special needs for human relations devoid of sexism and racism.

It is unlikely at this time that an effective struggle against sexism can be waged without independent, anticapitalist women's and gay liberation movements. But we also need a large anticapitalist movement that continually raises and confronts the problem of sexism in the context of programs ranging over broader interests and includes both men and women.

It is important for us to realize and fully understand the sexism that permeates and helps maintain capitalist domination. The system would not be able to function nearly so efficiently if one section of the population was not taught to accept all the menial work of the home without wages; if there were not isolated family units to purchase the stream of useless products dreamed up by the producers to keep the economy running; if there was not an available and cheap reserve supply of labor; and if men and women were not divided against each other. Women are often the last hired and first fired, paid lower wages for equal work, taught to think that their 'true' role is in the home as a mother, housekeeper, and husband-tender, and discouraged and often prevented by discrimina-

# Movement—

tory practices from developing into full human beings.

From an early age, men and women are taught sex stereotypes—women are mentally and physically weak, to be governed by men, while men are taught to be aggressive, skilled and dominating. Women are turned against one another as they compete for men and affection and security. Sexism continues to divide men and women. We must realize that we can never truly eliminate sexist institutions and ideologies until we have eliminated the exploitative domination of capitalism which continues to foster sexist attitudes for its own maintenance. But we must also understand that we will never achieve a full socialist society as long as sexist oppression exists. That is why the struggle against sexism is INTEGRAL, not just a side effect, to the development of a socialist society.

## Wolfe speaks at U.Va.

by Paddy Link

Tom Wolfe, author of "The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test," spoke at UVA Wednesday night on the New Journalism. He never quite stuck with the New Journalism topic, and most of his stories never quite made it off the ground.

One got the feeling that he felt he had to entertain all these nice people who paid \$1.50 just to hear him utter a few words. What it all boiled down to was Wolfe flippantly mumbling off the Old Journalism's definition of the New, telling how Mailer, Breslin, Talese, and himself rose to journalist-novelists from the newspapers, and that part of the key to it all was using short story technique in non-fiction. . . . WHEW!! AND THAT IS WHERE IT IS TODAY

Those who are Wolfe fans had heard the story many times before, as well as some of his anecdotes. If "Twice-Told Tales" is your favorite book, this lecture would have been for you.

He answered questions after the lecture, which proved more enlightening than the lecture itself. He feels that the study of brain physiology will give man a complete knowledge of himself as discoveries in that field are made. Through this field, said Wolfe, status drives will be proved to be part of the brain's chemistry.

Wolfe described the American Intellectual circa 1971 as being a consumer status-symbol who among other things owns a VW, has a skinny wife, and who lives amidst a pile of glass bottles that he's never gotten around to taking to the recycling center.

He also informed the audience that Ken Kesey is still living on his farm in Oregon and that he has become very religious (what would you expect?). Yes, Tom Wolfe did take acid while with the Merry Pranksters. A New Journalist must experience it all. And he announced that Kesey is writing an article on Jerry Garcia of the Grateful Dead in an upcoming issue of Rolling Stone.

Questions concerning his subjectivity/objectivity in his writing heightened his sensitivity, and if he did not seem to understand the questions at times, neither did anyone else for that matter. He ended the questions by answering one wondering why he keeps out of politics. He quoted Balzac, "I am a member of the opposition called life." THAT'S ALL FOLKS!



# **an analysis of the U.S. today**

## **DIVIDING THE WORKERS**

One of the greatest weaknesses of past revolutionary movements in the United States has been their failure to confront racism. Blacks were brought to this country as slaves, and when they were finally freed legally, the ruling class still managed to use them as a source of cheap labor and a perpetual 'underclass.' The Kerner Commission in 1967, responding to a series of ghetto rebellions, certified that racist practices were still embedded in the economic and political structure, and many liberals hailed that report as a great turning point, but the fact is that nothing has changed, except for the worse. As the economic situation has become less secure, and the fabric of American life torn apart by the war in Vietnam, racial tensions have increased as the rulers seek a scapegoat in their campaign for law and order.

Blacks, chicanos and American Indians and Puerto Ricans all find that beyond the normal levels of deprivation, they are faced with escalated state repression. Meanwhile, racism divides the working class and makes it impossible to mount united actions against the bosses. Minority groups are right to refuse to lend their support to unions that have discriminated against them, but the end result is a battle amongst the working class for different sections of the small slice of the pie that the rulers have granted them. What is needed, instead, is united action so that the working class, as a whole, can get a fair share of the wealth that it has created and real control over their own lives. But this will never happen until whites make a conscious effort to combat the racist institutions of American society. In the meantime, blacks, chicanos, and other groups will need to build their own political identity in institutions that they, themselves, totally control, and whites can unite with them around specific programs of mutual concern. Organizing against racism, we must stress, is not a matter of urging people to be moral: it is a matter of showing people concretely how their own survival and liberation depends on the destruction of racist institutions and attitudes, as well as the moral issue. There is no hope for serious change as long as the rulers of this country can manipulate whites' fears of blacks; and no hope that blacks will work in joint struggles with whites until they have grounds to trust that whites will not sell out their interests and needs.

## **BRINGING IT HOME**

Social change cannot be based on every man having a woman as a slave in the home, existing primarily to serve male ego, male sexual needs, and male domestic services. Nor can solidarity be built in the work force if men accept arrangements in which women are discriminated against in any way. The struggle to end racism and sexism in our work places, in our unions, in our neighborhoods, and in our homes, is integral to the general struggle for human freedom and dignity.

Our programs must be directed at the needs of all these sectors of the population and must help them come to an awareness of the common source of their oppression in the American economic and political system, and their need to unite in struggle for radical change.

Vitally important also is the struggle of people around the world for self-determination unencumbered by the economic and political domination of the U.S. and its powerful multinational corporations. We are for the dismantling of the American empire not just because we want to stop squandering our resources on useless weapons of destruction, and use them instead to fulfill human needs, but also because we support the same right of self-determination for Vietnamese, Chileans, Bolivians, etc., that we want for ourselves. These people are not our enemy.

The struggle against the war in Vietnam is one of the most important facts in the reemergence of radical consciousness in the United States. The Pentagon Papers have conclusively shown what the left has been saying for the past seven years: that the government has been lying to the people, that the war was caused solely by the imperial ambitions of the United States, and that the only way for the war to end is for the United States to get out immediately and unconditionally. The antiwar movement through its marches, sit-ins, draft refusals, civil disobedience, rallies and other forms of demonstrations, has succeeded in dramatizing the war in all of its stupidities and its planned and conscious evil. When the war ends, it will be the antiwar movement and the Vietnamese people who forced it to end, and not the various opportunists, from liberal Democrats to Nixon, who try to claim the credit for jumping on the anti-war bandwagon after

73 per cent of the American people had resolutely demanded immediate withdrawal.

But the anti-war movement has been curiously inadequate in showing people how the war relates to the rest of the capitalist system. This is in part due to the reason that it has refused to link the anti-war struggle to the general struggle to build socialism. No one is fooled when a primarily anti-war constituency tacks on a poverty or racism demand to its rhetoric, but programmatically still focuses on the war only. The meaning of anti-war demonstrations will be greatly transformed, and their power greatly enhanced, when they are seen as part of a left that is clearly fighting for the interests of

the majority of the American people around programs that include, but go far beyond, the war. The struggles that emerge around such a program will have the consequence of severely weakening American imperialism and its ability to fight for its empire.

The irony of American imperialism is that it must attempt to manipulate American patriotism and use it, just as it did in every previous war, to defend the economic interests of a very small section of the population. We must stress that there is another side to the American patriotic tradition, the side that is rooted in revolution and that led Thomas Jefferson to proclaim: 'God forbid that we should ever be twenty years without a rebellion.' If life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are part of the American dream, then we can show people how that dream can only be fully realized by the development of a new economic and social structure that replaces American imperialism, racism and sexism with a new democratic socialism.

## **Jesus big in U.S., speaker claims**

A panel discussion billed as "Three Religious Theologies" ended in scattered discussions and proselytizing last Wednesday night. About 100 students attended the program sponsored by the Campus Christians, where representatives of three contemporary religions presented their movements and discussed them with the audience.

Travis Herring represented the Church of Scientology, an interdenominational, nontheistic religion, and Edward Plowman and Sister Imogene Williams represented two new movements within Christianity. Plowman, author of "The Jesus Movement in America" and minister to the Jesus Movement in California and Northern Virginia, discussed the newly converted young people and their place in the orthodox churches, while Williams, evangelist in The Church of Jesus What's Happening Today in Washington, D.C., described her work in Washington.

Powman pointed to high circulations of "underground Jesus-freak newspapers" as evidence that the back-to-Jesus movement is growing in the U.S. "Christianity is no longer a big secret," he said. "It's no longer the property of the organized church. And I think it's true what the newsmedia says—as kids are losing grips on the revolution, they're grasping for absolutes, and this is what Jesus is."

Asked about the relationship between many of the converts' former interest in drugs and their new interest in Jesus, he replied that "Jesus gives them what drugs couldn't—heightened awareness, spiritual freedom, a better and less divided world. People who were into politics are now into Christ. I give you the example of Huey Newton's former bodyguard—a black radical who has turned to Christ. All those kids are into the Bible. They're committed to the Bible. They use Biblical phrases. They study their Bibles two to three hours a day."

Plowman also denied that Jesus freaks have dropped out of social reform: "They still believe in reform. But they have a person-to-person social consciousness."

Williams, a self-declared evangelist, stated that her Washington church "deals with three phases of life—service, preaching, and fellowship. What are we about? We are about feeding the hungry, clothing the naked. We are about releasing the Pentagon Papers—and releasing the prison-bound."

"And I'm realistic about living. When I see someone in the bus who recognizes me, and they say 'I don't have 40 cents for the bus,' I just tell them to 'drop about 25 pennies into the till, and one one will ever know. The bus company doesn't care about us.' And that's how I preach. I'm going to be myself."

Herring, in contrast, discussed Scientology as a means for freedom. "It's a technology. Through our studies we eradicate a psychosomatic condition that exists in the mind of man. Scientology is a study of knowledge, wisdom, and life. You might say it's applied philosophy. Man is a spiritual being who has a mind and a body. But we don't talk to a mind and a body. We talk to you."

"Our goals are spiritual freedom, and a civilization without war or crime. People on hard drugs have been able to get off them and become free through Scientology."

The panel discussion, moderated throughout by Elizabeth Clark of the Department of Religion, concluded with Plowman's comments about the Jesus movement. "You can see how big the movement is. A number of young people in Cairo, Egypt are turned on to Christ. And 75 per cent of the movement is charismatic—it feels direct intervention of the Holy Spirit . . . whether this is a fad or, I don't know. I hope not."

## **WORKING CLASS DISUNITY**

The primary element that we orient towards in building an American socialism is the working class. But we reject any simple notion of who, or what, that working class is. While it is still true that millions of people fit into the category of the 'industrial workers' who are super exploited on the assembly lines and in the mines, it is also true that a conception of working people must include the many who are exploited in offices and in sales positions, and even teachers, government workers, social workers, and many who like to hide beneath the title of 'professional' to keep from themselves the fact that they, too, must sell their labor power in order to eat. One of the most important devices by which the working class is kept disunited is that section of bourgeois ideology that teaches millions of people who live miserable lives that are totally powerless and alienated that they are not really part of the working class, but rather part of some mystical middle class. We are told that the majority of people are really 'middle class' and thus that the problems of American workers have largely been solved, or if they are not solved, they can't be solved because the vast middle class won't approve. The fact is that most people who believe this are still making profits for someone else, and coerced by the system to sell their labor power in ways which give them no human satisfaction.

We need a much more careful study of the working people of this country which recognizes the highly variegated nature of the working class and stops trying to generalize when there is no basis for the generalization but which also shows how much the interests of working people can be made to work together.

**SAYING THAT WE ORIENT TO THE WORKING CLASS DOES NOT MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT WE SEE THE ENEMY AS THE UPPER MIDDLE CLASS. WHILE IT IS OFTEN TRUE THAT UPPER PROFESSIONALS AND STORE OWNERS SIDE WITH THE INTERESTS OF THE RULING CLASS AGAINST THE PEOPLE, OUR PRIMARY QUARREL IS NOT WITH THESE PEOPLE, BUT WITH THOSE WHOM THEY SERVE.** The Vietnam war showed many of these people how very powerless they were as well: despite all their alleged influence, they found themselves powerless to stop the war that many of them opposed as long as it seemed to be in the interests of a powerful section of the ruling class. **THE POWER OF THE RULING CLASS IS NOT IN ITS NUMBERS, BUT IN ITS ABILITY TO SET PEOPLE FIGHTING AGAINST EACH OTHER. OUR STRENGTH WILL BE IN OUR ABILITY TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON THE RULING CLASS AND ON CAPITALISM, NOT ON THE MANY PEOPLE WHO SERVE AS FUNCTIONARIES FOR THE SYSTEM, BUT WHO HAVE NO REAL POWER TO CONTROL IT.** Anyone who joins with us in the struggle for socialism, regardless of class origin, is our ally. At the same time, we should understand that some of our programs will certainly annoy some moneyed interests that are not yet ruling class. For instance, tax programs that relieve working people will certainly take some money away from the upper middle class, and there are likely to be squawks. Our general principle here is: is the program justifiable and explainable to most working people? To talk of working people does not just mean those currently employed. People on welfare and unemployment fit into our category of the working class, and so do most students who are simply being trained to accept the highly specialized and technologized jobs that an advanced industrial society has produced.

# 'New Americans'

from page 5

The next few years will probably see the development of a new force in America, as sections of the rulers who have extensive investments in the cities will attempt to coalesce a political party around urban spending. We have seen harbingers of this development in the programs of the Urban Coalition and John Gardner's Common Cause. It is even likely that in either 1972 or 1976, there will be a major third party if the liberals have not managed to take control of the Democratic Party. The base of this alliance will be the urban poor and blacks together with some of the most important corporations on the American scene. To some degree, the programs of this group will overlap with our programs, but to a larger extent, it will not. The corporate elite that finances this move will not support genuine control by the people except in areas where they think it is totally non-threatening. They will be offering another New Deal, and we are the inheritors of an America that was kept together by the first New Deal.

Liberal measures will only demonstrate more clearly the need for something more radical—a democratic socialism that is not some compromise between the needs of the rich and the needs of the majority of the people, but is completely geared to fill the needs of the people even if that means radical revision of the economic and political institutions along truly democratic lines.

## NEED FOR A NATIONAL LEFT

Within many of the local projects, there is a dynamic initial enthusiasm and hard work, gradually giving way to feelings of frustration, isolation, and final dissolution of the project. The same energy, if coordinated nationally into a series of similar projects with a similar thrust would have much more political clout.

The fact is that local projects have fallen apart at an alarming rate and the absence of any rational, national organization for the left has had the consequence of making local organizing harder in many instances. Large numbers of people who related to the left in some way in the past are moving towards the Democratic Party not because they have suddenly lost their left analysis, but because

they see no way of moving within the left. Unless you are a full-time organizer, willing to do full-time movement work, there is almost nothing to do, no place to go, that makes any sense. In building an organization nationally that is not aimed at revolutionary cadre, but in providing a place for the masses of Americans who have become radicalized in the past few years, we are not attempting to support any existing organizations, but only to build a form where none exists, and one is badly needed.



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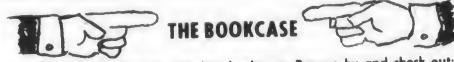
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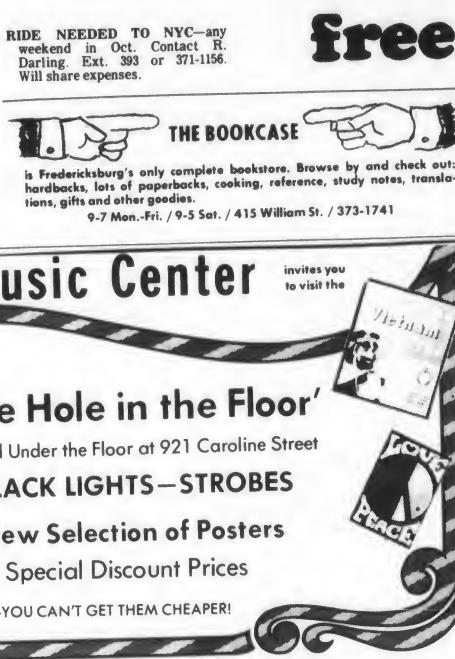
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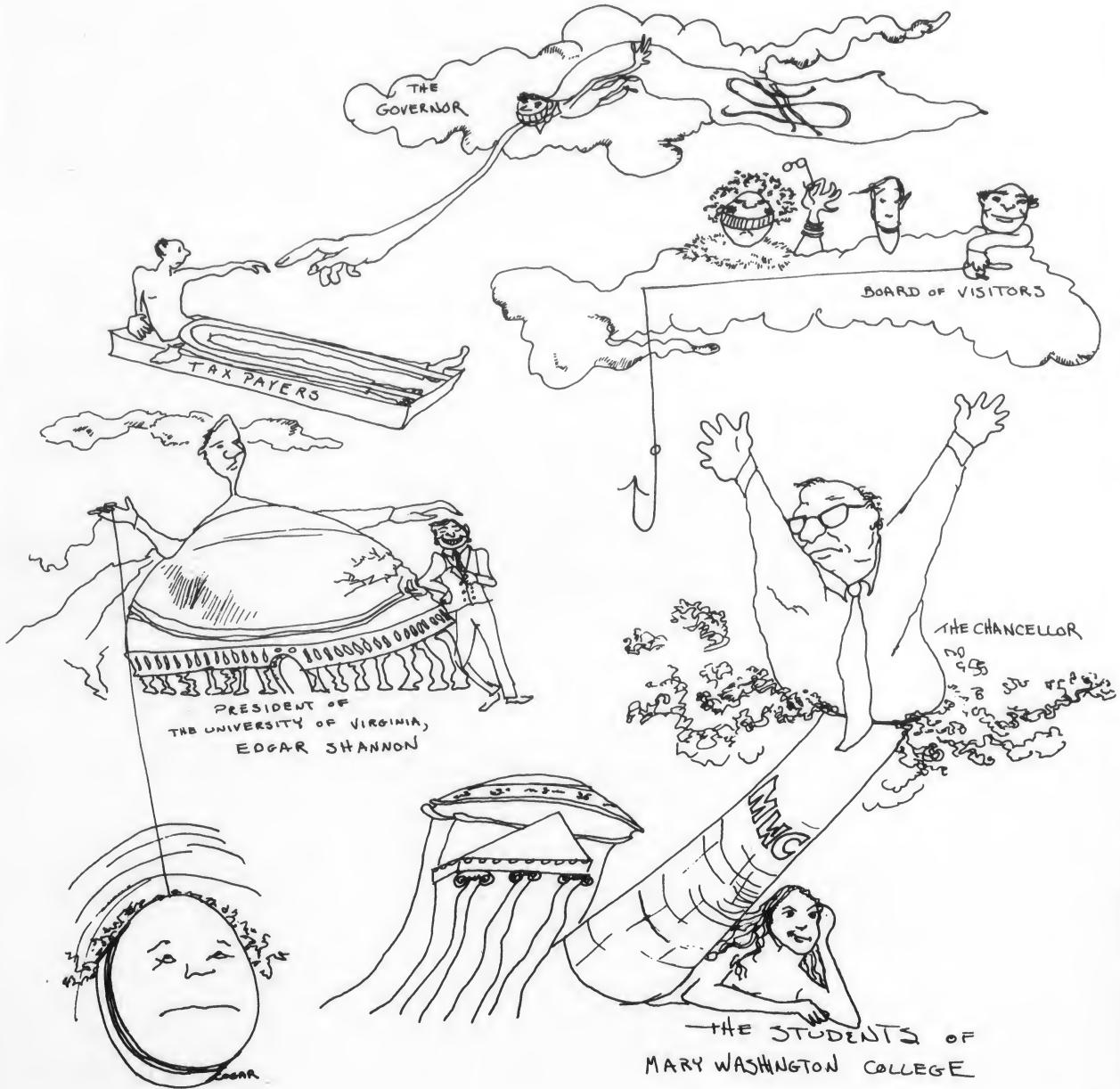
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